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Newsletter

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The cover photograph shows 250kg mustard-filled bombs in a storage area of Saddam airbase, near Mosul in Iraq.

(UN Photo 158680/ H. Arvidsson)

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Memberships expand and CSCE sets course

On 22 May, the General Assembly admitted three States—the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia—to membership in the United Nations. This brings the number of Member States of the United Nations to 178.

In Helsinki, on 24 March, the fourth Follow-up Meeting of CSCE welcomed three new participating States—Croatia, Georgia and Slovenia—bringing its number to 51.

The CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers met for three days from 24 March. It made a clear commitment to consolidate and institutionalize the CSCE process in line with the new profile given to it by the Charter of Paris of November 1990.

CSCE also made preparations for a peace conference on the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh, and mandated its Chairman-in-Office to head an observer-liaison mission to assess the situation there.

Increased support was given for making CSCE the main forum for all-European security matters and for its developing a regional peacekeeping capability, similar to that of the UN, and also drawing on the resources of existing security bodies such as NATO and the Western European Union (WEU).

The meeting decided to strengthen the role of CSCE's Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna. In addition, it heard support for the creation of a CSCE Court of Conciliation and Arbitration, proposed by France and Germany, aimed at defusing potential conflicts and crises.

Security issues were also addressed in relation to preparations for the post-Helsinki Security Forum, due to start in September 1992, the mandate for which is one of the main tasks of the Follow-up Meeting.□

Open Skies Treaty signed at Helsinki

On 25 March, 25 countries signed the Open Skies Treaty that had been in negotiation since February 1990. The initial 25 countries consist of the 16 member States of NATO plus the 5 former Warsaw Treaty States in Eastern Europe and 4 States that were part of the Soviet Union: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Georgia.

The Treaty provides for unarmed surveillance flights at short notice. No country is to conduct more inspections than it agrees to have over its own territory. While requests must be made several months in advance, only 72 hours' notice is needed for providing details regarding the specific flight path.

The overflights permitted by reconnaissance planes are much less expensive than satellites and are consequently available to most countries. Aerial inspection has other advantages too: it can be used when satellites are blinded by poor weather, and airplanes can be quickly moved into new positions.

On the signing of the Treaty, the foreign ministers of the participating States issued a declaration welcoming it and assessing the Treaty as an important element in the process of enhancing security and confidence between members of the international community.

Noting the interest expressed by a number of States which were not full participants in the negotiations, the declaration calls for the accession of all the newly independent States of the former Soviet Union. It also suggests that these States may take part in discussions regarding practical arrangements for the regime being established within the framework of the Open Skies Consultative Commission.□

Australian proposal on the CWC

The long negotiations for a comprehensive chemical weapons convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction is nearing completion in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Delegations hope that a final agreed treaty will be ready for signature in the autumn of 1992.

Agreement has been reached on a large part of the text during the decade of negotiations, and rapid progress has been made under the current Chairman of the CD, Ambassador Ritter von Wagner of Germany. Now, intense efforts are being made to reach final agreement on a limited number of outstanding issues.

On 19 March 1992, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, Senator Gareth Evans, presented an Australian draft of a model compromise convention to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. He stressed the need to bring the CD's long-running CWC negotiations to an early and successful conclusion.

The draft submitted was designed to identify language that might be acceptable to the 39 negotiating States, including compromises on the issues that remained unresolved at that time.

In presenting the proposal, Australia stressed that it was not seeking to establish an alternative or parallel negotiating process to that going on in the Conference on Disarmament. Nor did the Australian draft seek to be an alternative to the rolling text in any way. "Our text is no more and no less than an accelerated refinement of the Rolling Text," stated Senator Evans.

Then United States Vice-President George Bush addressing the Conference on Disarmament in February 1983 with Ambassador V. L. Issraelyan (USSR) and Ambassador Ian T. Cromartie (U.K.) to his right. The following year, the United States introduced a full draft text to the CD. (UN photo 161 058)

Eighty per cent of the Australian text is drawn directly from the rolling text, and no part of the agreed rolling text has been omitted.

The remaining 20 per cent of the text represents the Australian thinking on possible language regarding issues where agreement does not yet exist— such as on the problem of verification; on especially excessive intrusiveness and challenge inspection; on the issue of old or abandoned chemical weapons stocks as well as the problem of national rights to economic and technological development.

The Australian text also addresses the issue of the composition of the Executive Council. It suggests a formula which seeks to find a balance between the geopolitical criteria and the industrial criteria.

The whole text is presented as a package designed to form a basis for further refinement and to provide one solid basis for accelerated negotiation.

Central to the draft text is the Verification Annex, which brings together elements from a number of parts of the rolling text. The very heart of the Convention will be an effective verification regime which will include the verification of the chemical industry and challenge inspections. The draft also introduces specific measures designed to ensure that there is no abuse of the right to request challenge inspections.

Unlike the rolling text, the Australian text has included a compromise formulation which ensures that the State parties to be inspected are consulted before inspection and are involved in the process of the destruction of any chemical weapons which are found.

The conclusion of a global convention outlawing the development, production and possession of chemical weapons and eliminating existing stockpiles is viewed as a fundamental objective of Australian policy.

Australia has undertaken to demonstrate that it is possible to devise a clean treaty text on the basis of what has been negotiated over the past decade as recorded in the rolling text. According to the Australian representatives, their proposal offers a model for dealing with the remaining unresolved issues and for grouping issues to find balanced package solutions. While it does not solve specific problems, it provides a conceptual framework which could be helpful in the final phase of the negotiations.□

Lisbon nuclear non-proliferation Protocol

Meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, on 23 May, the United States and the four former Soviet republics with nuclear weapons signed a multilateral Protocol to "maintain under the safe, secure and reliable control of a single unified authority" the nuclear weapons of the former USSR which are now within the "combined national territories of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine". ...

Article I of the Protocol affirms that these four States are now to assume the obligations of the former Soviet Union under the START Treaty, which was signed by the United States and the Soviet Union on 31 July 1991. All four States will participate in the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission on a basis to be worked out consistent with article I of the Protocol.

Consequently, the START Treaty will be submitted for ratification to all five national legislatures. United States Secretary of State James Baker has said that the US Congress will be asked to begin the ratification process as soon as possible.

Article II of the Protocol states, "The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine shall make arrangements among themselves as are required to implement the Treaty's limits and restrictions; to allow functioning of the verification provisions of the Treaty equally and consistently throughout the territory of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine; and to allocate costs".

Article V of the Protocol states, "The Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and Ukraine shall adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968, as non-nuclear weapons states Parties in the shortest possible time, and shall begin immediately to take all necessary actions to this end in accordance with their constitutional practices".

The 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons now has 149 parties, four nuclear-weapon States—China, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States—and 145 non-nuclear-weapon States. China, Estonia and Latvia have become parties since the beginning of 1992; the new States parties in 1991 were Lithuania, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. France has declared its intention to accede at an early date.

The Treaty aims at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States, at promoting the process of nuclear disarmament and at facilitating access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. It defines the obligations of both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States parties regarding the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons.

The nuclear-weapon States commit themselves not to assist, induce or encourage any non-nuclear-weapon State to acquire or manufacture such weapons, or transfer any such device or control of them to any recipient whatsoever; non-nuclear-weapon States commit themselves not to manufacture or otherwise acquire or control nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.□

Iraq appoints an adviser on the production of civilian products

On 3 May, in Baghdad,a former defence minister and minister of heavy industry and military industrialization was sworn in as an adviser in charge of the Iraqi Military Industrialization Commission.

The new adviser, who once supervised the building of ballistic missiles and chemical and nuclear weapons, told the Iraqi News Agency that the new Commission would supply the Iraqi market with civilian products which were in short supply due to sanctions against oil exports and the consequent inability to purchase many imports. He said the first Iraqi saloon cars would be produced this year as part of a programme to build 16,000 vehicles a year and 12,000 tractors.

The new Industrialization Commission would also oversee production of refrigerators, freezers, air coolers, stoves and electronic equipment, he stated. Work was under way to produce building materials, car paints, ballpoint pens and agricultural seeds and pesticides.□

France suspends nuclear testing

Announcing that France would suspend its testing of nuclear weapons for the balance of 1992, Prime Minister Pierre Beregouoy made the following statement on 8 April in the National Assembly:

"The French want a stable world, and rightly so. We must therefore build a new order based on peace, disarmament and the sharing of wealth. As the twentieth century draws to a close, how can we allow so much money to be spent on manufacturing death and so little on preserving life? Underdevelopment and over-militarization are an affront to the human conscience.

"The foreign policy pursued by François Mitterrand for over 10 years shows that we do not tolerate this humiliating spectacle. France has worked tirelessly for the emergence from the rubble of Yalta and the tragic ruins of underdevelopment of a world governed no longer by force but by the rule of law. This task, on which Roland Dumas is working so effectively, will continue.

"Our army will have to be adapted to these new times. It will be more mobile and better trained in the sophisticated techniques needed to detect regional crises and international terrorism.

"France will not give up its policy of nuclear deterrence, which is the cornerstone of its defence policy, but it will continue to work for balanced cuts in nuclear weapons and against their proliferation.

"Accordingly, the President of the Republic this morning sent the heads of State of the nuclear Powers a letter urging early conclusion of the ongoing negotiations on strategic disarmament and proposing an end to nuclear testing. Our intentions are clear: we must put a stop to over-militarization and, first, to the endless stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

"The President of the Republic has therefore instructed me to suspend France's nuclear tests in the Pacific for the rest of this year. In 1993, we shall see whether our example has been followed and whether reason has gained ground".□

China conducts a large nuclear test

On 21 May, China set off the largest underground nuclear test it has ever conducted. According to reports from Stockholm, Nordic seismologists identified the underground explosion as being in northwestern China, in Xinjiang Province.

The explosion was thought to have a yield of approximately one megaton, which is 1,000 kilotons.

Following its 21 May explosion, the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement confirming that the test had taken place and stating that China is in favour of having a complete prohibition on nuclear tests within the framework of effective nuclear disarmament.□

Warsaw Accord of the Nuclear Suppliers Group

Meeting in Warsaw on 3 April, 27 States signed an agreement aimed at controlling the export of dual-use technology that could be used for the production of nuclear weapons.

The signatories were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The accord sets out detailed rules to limit the sale of machinery and material that can be used either for peaceful purposes or for making nuclear weapons. The export of such material, which is seen as potentially contributing to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, includes high-strength steels and items such as certain computerized machine tools, and special furnaces and robots.

The accord spells out licensing procedures for the export of dual-use items and gives precise technical specifications. Specific exports are to be allowed if the proposed recipient can show that its use will be peaceful.□

READEX
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UNDC agrees on objective information on military matters

Reaching consensus on a substantive text regarding guidelines and information on military matters marked success for the UN Disarmament Commission which completed its 1992 session on 11 May.

"Objective information on military matters" (OIMM) was the Working Group agenda item which Commission delegations were required to complete during the three-week 1992 substantive session. The fact that they did reach agreement on guidelines for the future was viewed as a positive result.

The guidelines provide a basic framework within which Member States can pursue policies of increased openness and transparency and identify a number of areas where immediate actions are required.

Some of the recommendations made by the Commission include proposals that:

- improvements could be made in the standardized system of reporting on military expenditures with a view to increasing its objectivity and providing comprehensively comparable information on such expenditures;

- the Register of Conventional Arms should be further developed on the basis of the relevant resolution of the General Assembly.

In addition, it is recommended that States should take practical measures, on the basis of existing agreements to increase openness and transparency through the provision of objective information, including on nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, the transfer of high technology with military application, imports and exports of conventional arms, military holdings, procurement through national production and with regard to their relevant policies.

The UN Disarmament Commission was conscious of the important role which openness and transparency can play in preventing the proliferation of all kinds of weapons. Consequently, one of the guidelines is for mechanism to be set up to promote the provision of objective information on military matters in a comprehensive and equitable manner, both within the UN system and outside it.

To this end, the United Nations should promote the provision of objective information on military matters through:

- the guidelines and other recommendation of the UNDC;

- collection and publication of information provided by Member States on the basis of its standardized reporting system or possible future improvement thereof;

- maintenance of the UN Register of Conventional Arms;

- United Nations studies carried out in accordance with General Assembly resolutions;

- related activities of the UN Regional Centres for Peace and Disarmament;

- research performed under the aegis of the Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR);

- operation of appropriate databases in accordance with the provision of relevant resolutions and provision of advisory services, if requested by Member States.

In addition, if requested by the parties, the United Nations can assist in data collection and dissemination in the context of multilateral treaties on arms limitation and disarmament, as is already the case with respect to the Biological Weapons Convention.

The second agenda item addressed by the UNDC was titled "Process of nuclear disarmament in the framework of international peace and security, with the objective of the elimination of nuclear weapons".

The tangible steps taken by the international community during the year—conclusion of the START Treaty, plans for further reductions in nuclear weapons, accession to the NPT by China and the intended accession of France as well as accessions in 1991 by several African States including South Africa, and the moratoriums on nuclear testing by Russia and France—had a posi-

General view of the 1992 substantive session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

The 1992 substantive session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission was presided over by Ambassador André Erdos of Hungary. To his right, Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Mr. Prvoslav Davinic, Director of the Office for Disarmament Affairs, and to his left, Mr. K.C. Lin, Secretary of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. In the second row, Mr. Sohrab Kheradi, Deputy Director of ODA and Chief of its Committee and Conference Branch, Ms. Indu Chakravartty, Political Affairs Officer, OUSG, and Ms. Jenifer Mackby, Secretary of Working Group II.

tive effect on the UNDC work concerning the question of nuclear disarmament.

Nevertheless, uncertainty about the risks of proliferation and continued adherence to long-standing positions on other nuclear issues, including a nuclear-test-ban, prevented significant progress from being registered in this field. The Working Group dealing with this agenda item nonetheless succeeded in drafting a consensus outline elaborating a number of focal points for its future work.

Regarding regional disarmament, considerable effort was made to achieve more precise language and consolidate points under specific sub-topics. The underlying difficulty was the gap between the view of several States that regional measures could only succeed within a framework of rapid global disarmament, and the view of Western and Eastern European countries and a number of developing countries that regional disarmament is of particular importance now, given recent developments in international relations.

The UNDC Working Group on the role of science and technology in relation to international security and disarmament made further progress in its work and generally recognized that:

- international security depends on a multiplicity of factors in the social, economic and environmental, as well as the military, field;
- science and technology *per se* can be seen as neutral and thus their application for peaceful purposes should be promoted;
- norms and guidelines for the transfer of high technology with military applications should take into account the legitimate requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security while ensuring that they do not deny access to high technology products, services and know-how for peaceful purposes.

The Working Group also identified areas where science and technology could be used for disarmament—for weapons disposal, military conversion and for the negotiation and verification of disarmament agreements.

In spite of this measured agreement, the report of the Working Group devotes greater attention to clarifying differences than to confirming agreement. This is due to an underlying difference in approach where the industrialized States (both East and West) advocated a pragmatic approach to developing an international control system for the transfer of high technology based on existing mechanisms, while several developing States objected to being asked to endorse "closed-door" export control regimes and called instead for establishing international norms through multilateral negotiation.

In response to concerns that the heavy workload of delegations and the shortness of time available would make it difficult to conclude three agenda items in 1993, as scheduled, the Chairman proposed prolonging the time for completion of one agenda item and concluding two next year. The possibility of not replacing the completed agenda item on objective military information was suggested by the United States as a practical way to move from four to three agenda items. Others thought that one new item should be taken up, so that it would be in its first year of consideration, while two items would be completed, and one scheduled for completion in 1994. There are two proposals for a new item: international arms transfers, a proposal by Colombia contained in resolution 46/36 H and adopted without a vote in the 1991 General Assembly; and "general guidelines for non-proliferation, particularly on weapons of mass destruction" proposed by Sweden during the 1992 UNDC. □

The Secretary-General on United Nations peace-keeping

Speaking in Washington D.C. at the United States Senate Office Building on 13 May, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali discussed the history and future of the United Nations in this field. The following quotations are taken from the text of his address:

"...Before 1988, the United Nations had set up 13 peace-keeping operations. The total since 1988 is also 13, the most recent being the newly approved operation in Somalia. We have thus done as much in the last four years as we did in the previous 40 years. ...

"1992 will be the most testing year ever. We are simultaneously deploying, in Cambodia and Yugoslavia, the second and third largest operations the United Nations has undertaken. The number of United Nations soldiers and police deployed in the field will almost quadruple from 11,500 at the end of January to a planned 44,000 at the end of May.

"All this activity of course costs money. In 1987, the Member States of the United Nations were asked to pay $223 million for peace-keeping and, in 1991, $421 million. The bill for the next 12 months will be around $2.7 billion. ...

The Development of Peace-keeping

"United Nations peace-keeping and peace enforcement are distinct. The central difference is that peace-keeping requires the consent of the parties and peace enforcement does not. Chapter VII of the Charter describes in detail how the Security Council may apply measures to deal with threats to the peace and acts of aggression. The most recent example of peace enforcement is, of course, the action taken by the Security Council in regard to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

"There is no specific provision for peace-keeping in the Charter of the United Nations. There is even disagreement as to when the 'first' peace-keeping operation was established. Most think that it was the group of military observers, known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), who were sent out during the first Arab-Israel war in 1948 to supervise a cease-fire and then to implement the 1949 Armistice Agreements between Israel and Egypt and Israel and its Arab neighbours.

"Thereafter, peace-keeping evolved steadily. In 1956, the first armed force was set up after the Suez crisis. In 1960, the United Nations launched its operation in the Congo.

"In 1962, United Nations peace-keepers assumed responsibility for the administration and internal security of West Irian during a period of transition from Dutch colonial rule to independence. In 1964, the United Nations again became involved in an internal conflict when it established a force to control intercommunal fighting in the Republic of Cyprus.

Peace-keeping after the Cold War

"I have described all this history in order to demonstrate that by the time the cold war ended, a whole set of peace-keeping concepts and principles and practices had been developed. The United Nations could thus move into higher gear when suddenly the United States and the Soviet Union began to find it possible to work together in the Security Council to resolve and control conflicts. ...

"... Of the 13 operations which were set up before 1988, all except the one in West Irian were what are now described as traditional peace-keeping operations. That is, they were largely military in composition and their tasks were to monitor cease-fires, control buffer zones, investigate alleged arms flows, prevent a resumption of hostilities and so on. In other words, they were to maintain calm on the front lines and give time to the peace-makers to negotiate a settlement of the dispute which had led to conflict in the first place. Sometimes the peace-makers succeeded. More often they did not, which is why so many of the pre-1988 operations are still in the field.

"By contrast, only five of the 13 post-cold-war operations have been of this traditional kind. The other eight have, like West Irian, been set up to help implement a settlement already negotiated by the peace-makers. As such, they have involved not only the traditional military activities but also a whole range of civilian ones. ...

"An example of this new peace-keeping can be found in El Salvador, where the United Nations is verifying what has been called a negotiated revolution. I had the opportunity to visit ONUSAL, the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, following the signature in Mexico of the final peace agreements last January. They involve not only a cease-fire and related measures but also reform and reduction of the armed forces, creation of a new police force, reform of the judicial and electoral systems, human rights, land tenure and other economic and social issues.

"Another example is Cambodia, where the peace agreement requires the United Nations to supervise various parts of the existing administration, organize elections, monitor the police, promote human rights, repatriate over 350,000 refugees and begin rehabilitation of the country, as well as to carry out a familiar range of traditional military functions.

The United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) oversees the demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance forces in Yamales, Honduras as part of the overall peace process in Central America. (UN photo / Steen Johansen)

..."The Organization is also increasingly called upon to offer technical assistance in the building of democratic institutions. Sometimes this assumes a highly structured role, such as organizing and supervising, monitoring and observing an entire election process—as was the case in Namibia, and will be so in Cambodia. In other instances, the United Nations has cooperated closely with a regional organization in the monitoring of elections, as was the case in Nicaragua, and will be the case in Angola. In Western Sahara, the United Nations has been asked to conduct a referendum. ...

"In recent months, the United Nations has also been called upon to help deal with another, less happy, consequence of the end of the cold war. The demise of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and what was the Soviet Union has led to a growing number of inter-ethnic conflicts which had been dormant for the last half century. A very large United Nations peace-keeping force has been sent to Yugoslavia to try to control one of these conflicts.

"At the same time, ethnic conflict is causing suffering in a number of African and Asian countries. In fact, the human tragedies created by all such conflicts has led to an increasing sentiment that the United Nations must use its peace-keeping and peace-making skills to resolve them. Despite the provision in the Charter that the Organization should not intervene in domestic matters, Member States find it more and more difficult to regard any conflict as domestic or internal. It is these considerations that have just led the Security Council to set up the new operation in Somalia, which includes military personnel to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief supplies. This in an important innovation.

The Future of Peace-keeping

"The United Nations has never claimed that it alone can carry out peace-keeping operations. Regional organizations have undertaken a few such operations themselves, of which the most successful was an Arab League force deployed between Iraq and Kuwait from 1961 to 1963. From 1965 to 1966, an Inter-American Peace Force was sent to the Dominican Republic on the basis of a resolution adopted by the Organization of American States (OAS). In 1979, Egypt, in cooperation with the United States, organized a Multilateral Force and Observers in the Sinai to help implement the peace treaty with Israel.

"That said, the United Nations is by far the most experienced peace-keeper. It is more likely, perhaps, to be seen as having the impartiality which is an essential condition for successful peace-keeping, and it has worked out structures for establishing, financing and managing such operations. It was thus inevitable that the international community should turn to the United Nations when the end of the cold war increased the demand for peace-keeping.

"But the demand has now become such that I believe that the United Nations must share the work with others. A multipolar world should be led by a multiplicity of institutions. ...

"It is therefore logical that an effort should be made to 'decentralize' the responsibilities for peace-keeping and peace-making that today are continuously being entrusted to the United Nations. The regional organizations are the obvious candidates for larger roles.

"Chapter VIII of the Charter specifically provides for regional organizations to 'make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes...before referring them to the Security Council'. The problem at present is that the regional organizations have almost no experience and lack the necessary structures and procedures; and most of them are in an even worse financial condition than the United Nations.

"I am, however, convinced that the regional organizations must be helped to carry a larger share of the burden, in peace-making as well as in peace-keeping. It is for this reason that in Yugoslavia I have insisted on a clear division of labour between the European Community, which has for some time been engaged both in peace-making and peace-keeping only in certain areas of Croatia. I have also offered to help the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to obtain technical advice with regard to its own peace-keeping efforts in the dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh. And I have taken care to associate the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Arab League and the Organization of the Islamic Conference with my own efforts in Somalia....

"We need also to expand the role of non-governmental organizations in the new and broader peace-keeping operations. They have, of course, long been involved in the humanitarian aspects of peace-keeping. This has recently been formally recognized in the latest Security Council resolution on Somalia, where much of the relief work to be protected by United Nations military personnel will be carried out by non-governmental organizations.

"As for United Nations peace-keeping, we face a major resource problem. Whenever a new peace-keeping operation is established, all personnel must be transported to the area of operations. This means more than 19,500 personnel in Cambodia; nearly 14,000 in Yugoslavia; 490 in Iraq/Kuwait; 400 in Western Sahara; 500 in Angola; 500 in El Salvador; and at least 50 military observers in Somalia—to name only those operations that have been deployed in the past year. ...

"Under present arrangements, we have to start from scratch every time a new operation is set up. The United Nations is almost always in a cash-flow crisis. The Working Capital Fund was long ago exhausted. Even if we had the cash, the Organization's financial procedures would severely limit the Secretary-General's ability to enter into financial commitments until the cost of the whole operation has been estimated in detail and the resulting budget approved by Member States. ..

"As a result, there is often so long a gap between the Security Council's decision to set up a new operation and its deployment in the field that the success of the whole exercise is jeopardized. Disaster nearly occurred at the start of the otherwise successful operation in Namibia because so few United Nations personnel were on the ground at the critical moments when the transition began. In Cambodia, the delay of over seven months since the signature of the Cambodia Peace Agreement in Paris last October has added to the fragility of an already difficult operation.

"Given the political will, these problems could be easily resolved. Let me suggest four steps:

1. A revolving capital fund would be established to finance the start-up costs of peace-keeping operations;

2. As soon as the Security Council decided to set up a new operation, the Member States would be asked to pay immediately one third of the estimated cost of its first year and the Secretary-General would be automatically given authority to commit up to this sum;

3. A reserve stock of basic peace-keeping equipment would be established so that some of the most needed items were always available;

4. Member States would pay their assessments, both for the initial one third and for the full budget, fully and on time.

"A fifth step, which is my responsibility, is to rationalize the Secretariat structures for the planning and management of peace-keeping and to speed up our own internal procedures. This is already in hand.

"As regards the costs of peace-keeping to Member States, I believe that even the $2.7 billion for this exceptional year is not high in relation to the costs of the alternative, namely, continued conflict. We need only recall the astounding sums of money that were spent to 'win' the cold war—in the 1980s global expenditures on arms approached $1 trillion per year, or $2 million per minute—to acknowledge that peace-keeping is an inexpensive way to help maintain stability in the post-cold-war era.

"But I am also conscious that the current volume of peace-keeping expenses is creating real problems for Member States. It is for this reason that I have decided to ensure that they get value for money.

"I am therefore taking a close look at the cost of existing peace-keeping operations, especially the older ones.....

"....this is more than a question of good housekeeping. It goes deeper and engages the responsibilities of Member States as well as the Secretary-General. It requires them both to improve their joint performance in ensuring that money is spent on peace-keeping in those conflicts where conditions exist for it to produce better results more quickly. ...

"It is also necessary for the Secretary-General and the Security Council to take a critical look at peace-keeping operations which have been deployed for a long time, without progress having been made on settling the dispute in question..... Peace-keeping, after all, is not an end in itself. It is a technique whose function is either to create conditons for the peace-makers to do their work or to help implement settlements which the peace-makers have negotiated. If the peace-makers' task has proved impossible, or if their settlement proves that it cannot be implemented, then the continued requirement for a peace-keeping presence needs to be studied very critically. ...

"It is a cause of satisfaction, however, that of the 13 operations set up since 1988, six have already discharged their mandates and been disbanded. ..□

UNDP reports

"All countries, industrial and developing, should commit themselves to reducing military expenditures during the 1990s by at least 3% a year. This reduction would yield by the year 2000 a total peace dividend of around $1.5 trillion—$1.2 trillion in the industrial countries and $279 billion in the developing countries".

This is one of the conclusions of the *Human Development Report 1992* published by the United Nations Development Programme on 2 March. The report also presents its findings on a range of disarmament-related issues.- Excerpts from the report are quoted below.

On reduced military expenditures

"Global military spending is already falling. Industrial countries reduced their total military spending from a peak of $838 billion in 1987 to $762 billion in 1990. Developing countries have achieved a similar reduction—from a peak of $155 billion in 1984 to $123 billion in 1990. After decades of military build-up, a refreshing new trend has emerged".

On aid conditionality:

"Many aid donors are beginning to take the military spending levels of recipients into account when allocating aid—a welcome adjustment to the new realities. But they should also recognize that the recipients do have legitimate security needs and that changes take time—and will require considerable adjustment to a country's economic and social policy. More can be achieved by persuasion than coercion, by a vigorous policy dialogue than by formal conditionality".

The 1992 UNDP *Human Development Report* was issued with the above photograph showing a tank leaving a transport ship. (Photocredit: Dennis Brack/ Black Star)

On reducing military assistance:

"Much of the arms build-up was due to proxy cold-war conflicts fought on developing country soil—and sustained by massive military aid. The big powers should now accept the responsibility of eliminating or greatly reducing military assistance, military bases and the shipment of sophisticated military equipment. Bilateral donors should agree to convert existing military assistance to development assistance". ...

On reducing arms production:

"The shrinking defence requirements of industrial countries are causing arms suppliers to look more to markets in developing countries. Oddly, some industrial country governments are even considering assisting manufacturers with export subsidies while simultaneously demanding that developing countries reduce imports. More helpful would be subsidies to help arms producers switch to more peacefully oriented production."

On arms sales:

"Private arms traders should be discouraged from shipping equipment, and suppliers should not be able to offer buyers credit on easy terms. National legislation to control export of arms and related material should be strengthened. Governments that export and import arms should provide all required data to the UN 'Register of Conventional Arms' agreed in the UN General Assembly and established with effect from 1 January 1992. To enhance transparency and openness, governments should rapidly implement the envisioned second stage of the Register and supply data and background information on their military holdings and procurement through national production".□

Interview with Dr. Kusuma Snitwongse

Q: In our series of interviews with diplomats, NGO leaders and scholars, you are the first scholar. Speaking as a person doing research on international security in South-East Asia, how do you think the end of the cold war has changed the security concerns of that region?

A: The end of the cold war has removed one of the major security concerns of the region, namely, the spill-over of super-Power competition and conflict to escalate conflict arising in the region. This has meant a drawing down of the super-Powers' military presence in the region. It has also led to greater pragmatism in the pursuit of national goals which are increasingly economic while ideologies are downgraded. Thus nations in the region have been able to move towards reconciliation and closer to the establishment of a region-wide order.

The most specific positive result of the shift in great-Power relationships is the Paris Peace Agreement of October 1991 that promises to end the misery in war-torn Cambodia.

Q: Besides the positive impact of the global trend, what do you see as causes for continued security concerns in South-East Asia?

A: One of the trends that could pose obstacles to region-wide order is arms build-up, particularly in a number of ASEAN countries. The emphasis has been on advanced air and naval forces, aimed at greater range and broader capabilities, partly in reaction to uncertainty as the bipolar order passes to a multipolar one whose shape is not yet clearly discernible. This trend in arms build-up is of particular concern in the light of existing and potential conflicts.

Q: What about non-military causes of insecurity?

A: As "economic security" takes higher priority, it can be expected that there will be greater determination to protect resources in one's own territory, both on land or off-shore. Considering the numerous disputed territorial claims that exist in the region, chances of conflict are manifold. There is an undeniable linkage between arms acquisition and the protection of one's natural resources. For these reasons, the Spratly Islands are seen as a major potential flash point.

Illegal transnational migration is increasingly becoming an issue of conflict. Traditional suspicions, enhanced by ethnic and religious differences, could intensify tangible conflicts of interest. Other non-traditional security problems include environmental degradation, the spread of AIDS, and drug addiction and the illicit trade in drugs.

Q: What about internal security within States in the region?

A: These issues will receive greater attention, although the problems of inequity, national integration, and political participation have remained more or less unchanged over the years.

A more recent problem is how to maintain economic growth together with sustainable environment. Ironically, success in economic development in the ASEAN countries tends to exacerbate the problems which threaten internal stability. The socialist countries which are gearing towards the same path of development can expect to face the same problems.

Q: How will the new political system in Cambodia affect security in the region?

A: Already, the Cambodian peace agreement has encouraged a trend towards reconciliation among the regional countries, previously polarized by the Cambodian conflict. Most notable has been the improved relations between Viet Nam and Thailand. Although peace in Cambodia is still very fragile, assuming that a new political system will emerge in Cambodia from the UN- supervised election, it is to be expected that the already growing salience of economics in national policy considerations will create a web of economic interdependence that will serve as a basis for a new order in South-East Asia.

Q: Do you think the role the UN is starting to play in Cambodia will tend to increase South-East Asian confidence in international security?

A: The role of the UN to implement the peace agreement on Cambodia is well appreciated. The success of UNTAC will determine the confidence in international security for South-East Asian countries.

Q: What is the prospect for UNTAC's success?

A: While the UN has had extensive experience in peace-keeping, UNTAC's mission is unprecedented as regards its scope and complexity.

Several requirements would help ensure UNTAC's success: the early establishment of its full staff; sufficient funding to allow it to effectively carry out its mission; safe and secure repatriation and integration of refugees; and full cooperation from all the Cambodian factions.

The establishment of a durable peace in Cambodia goes beyond elections and the formation of a government. Social and economic structures of the country have to be rebuilt and strengthened. The country thus ungently needs rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Q: What significance do you give to new developments on the Korean peninsula?

A: Considering the long, acrimonious relationships between the two Koreas, their recent accords on non-aggression and reconciliation that included confidence-building measures are a real milestone.

Although the 13 December accords do not address the critical issue of nuclear weapons, nuclear questions were subsequently dealt with in the agreement of 31 December which made the Korean peninsula free of nuclear weapons. This agreement was reached through mutual concessions which reflect a new spirit of compromise.

Now North Korea has signed a safeguards agreement with IAEA. However, until satisfactory inspections are carried out, the danger of nuclear proliferation will continue to hang over the Korean peninsula.

Q: Could you explain how the security policies of the largest Asian countries—China, India and Japan— affect South-East and East Asia?

A: China's growing blue water navy and her extensive claims over the South China Sea may be cause for concern in South-East Asia. However, at present, China is pursuing a policy that is generally constructive. Its support of the permanent members of the UN Security Council's framework for the resolution of the Cambodian conflict and its normalization of relations with Viet Nam have been crucial in bringing about the peace agreement in Cambodia. Also, China is known to have encouraged North Korea to conclude a safeguards agreement with IAEA. China has found that working within the UN framework well serves its interests at present.

Despite Japan's large defence budget and great military potential, there is no reason to believe that it plans to play an independent military role because its security environment has in any case improved especially *vis-à-vis* the former Soviet Union, and such a move would be counterproductive to the favourable economic and political position now enjoyed. Japan's security policy has been to use economic resources to promote stability in the region. The only military role contemplated would involve contributing personnel to UN peace-keeping missions. Analysts in the region generally believe that this would be a positive role for Japan.

There has been some concern regarding a growing Indian naval capability. However, the Indian force structure reveals the objective of sea-denial rather than sea-control in the Indian Ocean, and India's naval build-up can be expected to level off in the 1990s due to economic constraints.

Q: How do you see the future development of ASEAN?

A: With the settlement of the Cambodian conflict, ASEAN is moving back to fulfilling its original objective of promoting economic cooperation and has adopted as its goal the establishment of an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). While ASEAN will not become a military pact, it can be expected that because of the changing strategic environment, there will be greater security cooperation of a multilateral nature such as surveillance of the sea lanes. With Viet Nam and Laos expressing the desire to sign the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation of 1976, eventual expansion of the organization to include all countries in the region can be expected.

Dr. Kusuma Snitwongse is Chairman of the Executive Board of the Institute of Security and International Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand..

Q: What do you think might be the best approach to developing confidence-and security-building measures in East Asia?

A: The existing diversity and conflict in East Asia does not readily lend itself to the CSCE-type conference, and a building-bloc approach, with each contentious issue dealt with by the parties concerned, has been suggested as more feasible.

Confidence-and security-building measures (CSBMs) should also be defined broadly to mean any measures that build confidence and therefore include non-military measures such as cooperative efforts on development, provision of aid and assistance, and promotion of economic interaction. Often, there is reluctance to set in motion CSBMs unless some confidence already exists that has been built by non-military measures.

Nevertheless, there is already a well-established forum for consultation, namely the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference that brings together the six ASEAN member countries and their six dialogue partners who, with the exception of the EC, are from the Asia-Pacific region. Consultative relationships could be expanded to include non-dialogue partners in the region, particularly China, Russia, North Korea and Viet Nam.□

Update on inspections of weapons in Iraq

Missile inspections

Returning to UN Headquarters on 27 April after leading the tenth ballistic missile inspection in Iraq, the Chief Inspector of the UN inspection team stated that Iraq can no longer produce ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres at three of its major production sites.

The majority of the buildings and equipment identified by the UN Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament as having been involved in the production of ballistic missiles in Iraq had been destroyed, he stated.

The team, which comprised seven experts from five countries, had supervised and verified the destruction of 45 items of production equipment and 10 buildings associated with Iraq's ballistic missiles programme, primarily at four factories: Dhu al-Faqar (south of Fallujah), Yawm Al-Azim (west of Al-Mussayyib) and Taj Al-Ma'arik and Al-Qa'qaa' (both near Al-Latifiyah).

Based on the team's observations from 13 to 21 April, the Chief Inspector said it was now clear that Iraq could no longer produce ballistic missiles with a range of 150 kilometres or more at the above sites. In addition, the team had observed that a large amount of chemicals used in the production of solid rocket propellant had been moved from those sites to Muthanna for subsequent destruction.

According to the Special Commission, the inspection team was able to verify Iraq's claim to have destroyed unilaterally last summer equipment associated with ballistic missiles. The team was also able to confirm the destruction of four MAZ543 mobile missile launchers and four Iraqi-made Al-Nida mobile missile launchers, bringing to a total of 10 MAZ543 and six Al-Nida launchers confirmed as having been destroyed.

Chemical inspections

On 4 May an inspection team reported to the Special Commission that Iraq had destroyed unilaterally large numbers of chemical munitions. The aim of the team, which comprised four experts from four countries, was to verify Iraq's declaration that it had destroyed 24,270 chemical munitions and large quantities of chemical precursors during 1991. Three methods of destruction had been used, according to the Iraqi reports:

- Explosive demolition with subsequent burial or scattering of the remains;
- Melting down;
- Cutting the canisters in half in preparation for melting.

In addition, certain chemical agent precursors were either poured into the ground or into standing ponds, or burnt.

Evidence provided to the inspection team was generally consistent with the stated methods of destruction. Some of the chemical munitions canisters had been melted down into ingots so that precise verification was not possible, although the quantity of metal in the ingots was consistent with the numbers of munitions said to have been destroyed.

Nuclear inspection

On 7 April, Iraq promised to comply with the orders of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to destroy a key installation believed to be one of those intended for use by Iraq for the production of nuclear weapons.

The statement that Iraq would comply was made at a meeting in Baghdad with a 25-member agency team sent to oversee the destruction of the Al-Atheer complex which is about 20 miles southwest of Baghdad. Earlier in the meeting, the Iraqis had made a final effort to preserve portions of the Al Atheer installation which they said were not connected to nuclear weapons research. But once this was rejected, it was agreed that the Iraqi army would begin destroying the complex the following day with a view to completing the task by 15 April.

By that date 24,000 sq. metres of buildings, out of 35,00 sq. metres designated, had been destroyed. The techniques employed included the use of 3.5 tonnes of explosives.The remainder of the destruction was due to be carried out in late May.

Special Commission's third plenary session

At a plenary session at its headquarters in New York from 4 to 6 May, the Special Commission heard detailed reports of the activities undertaken under Security Council resolution 687 in connection with the disposal of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. It also discussed the main issues to be addressed in the immediate future: the destruction of the Iraq's chemical weapons which had now been assembled at Muthanna; procedures relating to the health, safety and environmental aspects of the Commission's work; and the ongoing monitoring and verification activities of the Commission's mandate to ensure that Iraq does not reacquire proscribed weapons. The Commission is due to meet again in plenary session in October.□

US to stop arms-grade uranium production

On April 29 the United States Department of Energy stated that it would no longer produce highly enriched uranium for the building of nuclear weapons.

Energy Secretary James D. Watkins said this would result in an immediate saving of $84 million and lead to the permanent shutdown of two nuclear processing plants which produce uranium by reprocessing spent nuclear fuel. One of the plants to be closed is at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

The other plant is the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory which has been shut since 1989 for environmental and safety reasons. Although some employees will remain after the permanent closing to continue working on the cleanup of nuclear waste, it is expected that about 1,000 jobs will be lost.

While the United States has not produced any new nuclear warheads since 1990, the Department of Energy may decide to temporarily reopen one old nuclear reactor at Savannah River to produce tritium, a radioactive isotope of hydrogen used in nuclear warheads.□

The housing structures of the electro-magnetic isotope separators found in Iraq and subsequently destroyed by the Iraqis in compliance with UN Security Council resolution 687 of 1991. Electromagnetic isotope separators are used for the enrichment of uranium to weapons grade quality. (UN photo 159027 / P. Sudhakaran)

New emphasis for SDIO

The US Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) has moved to cut its funding for space-based systems in order to increase its ability to deploy a ground-based system in conformity to the United States Missile Defense Act of 1991.

The system proposed by this Act would be in compliance with the Treaty on anti-ballistic missiles and would have the goal of providing a ground-based SDI system by 1996 with the capacity to defend most of the continental United States.

Tnis has led to reductions in funding for the "brilliant pebbles" space-based intercepter programme.□

Scientists urge new basis for SDI

The Boston-based Union of Concerned Scientists has published a report titled "Missing the Target: SDI in the 1990s".

It argues that reduced ballistic missile threats from the former Soviet Union, the inability of developing countries to threaten the United States with intercontinental nuclear weapons and the technical risks associated with the Strategic Defense Initiative should lead to cuts in the SDI $5.4 billion 1993 requested budget.

Even if the budget were cut by half, research and development would be able to continue. The basic aim proposed would be to redirect US efforts to counter the threats that are increasing rather than decreasing.

The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) should, the report suggests, transfer responsibility for theatre defence against tactical ballistic missiles to the individual services, where that responsibility would be linked to their specific areas of operation.□

NGO news items

The brief report below on activities of non-governmental organizations includes some of the events and programmes which have come to the attention of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs. The choice of coverage does not imply any judgement by the United Nations.

The **International Institutes on Peace Education** will hold its tenth anniversary meeting in Tokyo, Japan, 22-24 July 1992. Then from 27-31 July, the **International Peace Research Association** will hold its 14th General Conference in Kyoto, Japan. Both conferences will stress transnational and multi-disciplinary approaches to peace, world-wide. The IIPE has become the starting point for other efforts in peace education such as the Project on Ecological and Cooperative Education (PEACE), and cooperates with other initiatives including Global Education Associates, the World Order Models Project, and the Peace Education Commission of IPRA. **Contact**: IIPE, Peace Education Program, Box 171, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. (Fax: 1 212 678 4048)

Scientists for Global Responsibility will hold its Inaugural Conference on 21 June at the University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1. With the conference theme, the Responsible use of Science and Technology, topics of plenary and workshop sessions include science policy; the individual responsibility of scientists; and environment, disarmament and development. **Contact**: Scientists for Global Responsibility, Down House, Broomhill Road, London SW18 4JQ. (Tel: 44 81 871 5175)

The **Hungarian Peace Council** held a national conference on 25 April 1992 concerning the need for a new peace movement conceived in the current situation. The conference discussed this need, with the aim of contributing to the creation of a strong civil society without which the organizers believed a modern Hungary would not be possible. **Contact**: Hungarian Peace Council, 1395 Budapest 62, POB 440, Hungary. (Tel: 36 1 156 8440, Fax: 36 1 156 8499)

The **World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs** will meet from 4-9 August 1992 to commemorate the 47th anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Themes of the conference include proposals for a nuclear-free Asia-Pacific region, for a comprehensive nuclear test ban and the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the denuclearization of society and the protection of the environment. **Contact:** Japan Congress Against A-and H-Bombs (Gensuikin), c/o Sohyo-Kaikan, 3-2-11, Kanda Suragadai, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo 101, Japan. (Tel: 81 3 3251 7791, Fax: 81 3 3251 7791)

The **Center for Russian and Soviet Studies (CRSS)** of Monterey, California organized a conference in Moscow, Russia in October 1991 to train Russian journalists, academics and other professionals in the latest approaches to export controls. This is one of several projects designed to raise consciousness about the the perils of nuclear proliferation and to train experts in dealing with these problems. **Contact:** CRSS, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 425 Van Buren Street, Mont-erey, CA 93940 USA (408 647

The Mountbatten Centre for International Studies is engaged in a two-year research project to investigate concepts of peace-keeping and peace enforcement as they might be applied to United Nations maritime operations. The work focuses on the political factors and conditions needed for the creation of multinational naval forces and on possible roles and operational requirements of such forces. Members of the Centre have access to papers and archives on maritime affairs at the University of Southampton and its Maritime Research Institute, including the papers of Lord Louis Mountbatten. **Contact:** Michael Pugh, Programme Director, Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, Department of Politics, University of Southampton, Southampton S09 5NH.

The **United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific**, with the support of the Government of Nepal and the Japanese NGO, Rissho Kosei-Kai, held a regional meeting on trends and challenges regarding non-proliferation and other disarmament issues in its region from 27-29 January 1992. Topics addressed in the papers of various disarmament experts included, "Risks and dangers of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems" and "Challenges to the crisis/conflict management system of the CSCE, and recent proposals for the Asia-Pacific region". **Contact**: Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, P.O. Box 107, Pulchowk, Kathmandu, Nepal.(Fax: 977 01 523991, Telex: 947 2206)